1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

saw the mountain ahead of him revolving, and composed a series of songs about it which made him one of the popular leaders for the skipping dance. A legendary case recounts the story of a hero who heard a voice call to him: "The sea shaman wants to see you." He went into a cave, where he was taught songs, and when he emerged found that four years had passed. His house and property had been destroyed, as at death, and his wife considered herself a widow. But he was now a powerful shaman, so highly paid that he soon made good the losses.

There are no tales of men who failed to receive a vision. The aids to the experience, both material and spiritual, were so many that few could fail to have some sight or some emotion that might be regarded as a message from the supernatural. In the subsequent weeks of fasting this could easily magnify itself into a vision.

The runners returned late at night, and the leader waited for them. Speech No. 8 describes him sitting, half dead with cold and weariness. They gave him the objects they had picked up, which must be purified before their power could be used.

PURIFICATION

Early next morning they loaded the horses and left, adjuring the salt to be light, when they placed it in the saddlebags. As they turned to go home, the leader addressed the ocean: "I shall now return. Do you make it easy! Blow me along that I may arrive safely." They started with the elders ahead, then the neophytes, and last the leader, "to push them with his power." They must not look back or think of the salt, because this would impede their journey. They might hear singing behind them, which was the ocean trying to tempt them, but if they heeded it, they would be unable to move. The prohibition against noise was particularly rigid. "It would make the ocean angry." The neophytes must use their scratching sticks and, at the first opportunity, cut new ones to replace those which had been touched by ocean air.

On nearing the home village, they camped just outside, so that they could make an entry in the morning, and sent a messenger to

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

756
539

7. The gray partner [Coyote]
To the smooth ground brought me;
Then back to my house returned me.
Over the sky and the earth he took me;
And at the west he brought me out.

8. A little *kolowisi* serpent,
Lying at the water's edge,
Is hanging alone.
He is swinging to and fro,
Singing for the water.
A little *kolowisi* serpent.

The name of the Zuni feathered serpent, occurring in the last song meant nothing to the dreamer, who declared that *kolowisi* was a magic word, known only to him. Perhaps this gives some indication of how memory and chance bits of information are all enlisted by the Papago system in the service of the vision. 756 787 154

As his supernatural experiences grew more intense the dreamer began to have some inkling of his future specialty. If he were to be a rain shaman, he would dream of the frog and the spider, lovers of moisture. A future war shaman would dream of the owl. Sometimes a man specialized in only one of these functions, or so the tales say. The only shaman-prophets existing today are the rain prophets, and those whom the writer knew were diagnosticians as well. 756 787

Preparations often continued until middle life, and meantime the future shaman kept his visions a secret. Nevertheless, he was acquiring paraphernalia and experimenting with the knowledge given him. Some shamans used herb medicines in addition to their sucking, and the writer's informant averred that he dreamed these one by one. 756

"But," he was asked, "suppose there were another would-be shaman, with dreams less powerful than yours, and suppose he wanted to learn from some older man. What might he have to pay?"

Without hesitation came the answer: "Twenty-five head of cattle."

Before making a public appearance, the shaman tested his skill

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

the Yuman form of visiting mountains but might be to the sea or beyond it. Or the Visitant might simply instruct the dreamer.

It would seem that an unimaginative young man, faced with the necessity to "dream" dramatically before he could have the inspiration to success, might be frustrated. The series of speeches delivered to the neophytes before their retreat both in war and on the salt expedition fills this need for they are narratives of the vision experienced by some primeval dreamer. These, recited night after night, under impressive circumstances, might easily dispose a young mind to a nearly similar experience. In one of the war rituals, the guardian recites the experience as though it had actually happened to the neophyte:

"At the east there lives
A great yellow buzzard, a great shaman....
He picked you up, and far he threw you,
You fell half dead, you awoke, you came to yourself."

Sixteen days of fasting, following this recital, might go far toward producing the experience.

In the salt ritual there is a description of the state of mind which precedes such dreams. It gives a picture of one definitely working himself up to a state of tension.

"Food she cooked for me
I did not eat.
Water she fetched for me
I did not drink.
Then thus to me she said:
What is it?
You did not eat the food which I have cooked,
The water which I fetched, you did not drink.
Then thus I said:
It is a thing I feel.

I rose and across the bare spaces did go walking
Did peep through the openings in the scrub.
Looking about me,
Seeking something....
I rose. I reached the shade before my house,
There did I try to sit. Not like itself it seemed....
On my bed I tried to lie.
Not like itself it seemed....
To the center of the house did I go crawling
And the center post
Seemed a white prayer stick
So like it was...."

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

"Work hard," they were told, "and the magic serpent will come and show you designs for baskets." An informant had this experience, though she did not see the serpent.

"When I am making baskets, I hear a voice speaking to me. 'Put a cactus here. Put a turtle there. There, put a Gila monster.'" (26)

Women might acquire curing and, in the old days, rain-making powers after the menopause.

Some light is thrown on the psychological function of the dream by the experience of a woman informant which would seem to be typical. She had all her life observed a practice of midwives: pushing up the baby's palate to produce closure of the fontanelle (see p. 89). This appears to be an old Aztec practice.[1] Although the action was perfectly simple, the informant had never attempted it but in old age she took to dreaming. In one dream the Virgin Mary "and another lady" came and took her through a typically Papago visit to four pools, each guarded by a turquoise and each with a baby's head in it. The Visitants showed her how to spit on a shaman's crystal and touch the fontanelle, which then closed. When she awoke, she knew she could cure the baby's disease. She had no crystal but she did not trouble about it nor about the rest of the ritual. She proceeded to cure babies by pushing up the palate as she had seen others do. All she needed was the dream validation (26).

The Papago dream experience takes its place as a local version of the Guardian Spirit idea which is, in essence, a proclamation of the ability of the individual to attain eminence, regardless of his hereditary status. Such an idea is held both to east and west of the Papago, in varying forms.

The River Yumans, to the west, believed that power-bringing visions came by chance, in natural sleep, and, though an individual's whole success in life depended upon his dreams, he was powerless to induce them. Stated in modern terms, this reflects a belief in the innate superiority, perhaps also superior luck, of certain individuals. The subject of the dream was not an animal, as with the Papago, but a mountain or a supernatural being; sometimes merely a prophetic experience.[2]

On the Plains to the east, the vision was induced by efforts of the recipient, demanding a will power would see him through repeated

[1] Sahagun, Seler, pt. 9, sec. 8, p. 366.

[2] Kroeber, 1925, p. 754; Spier, 1933, p. 236; Gifford, 1933, pp. 303—4; Forde, 1931, pp. 182, 183, 189, 190.

273 452 439 one isolated rural store, at least, sold Papagos wine on credit in 1950—an ultimate easing of the usual difficulty Indians find in buying intoxicants.

273 [434] [454] [511] [526] Many individual Papagos picking cotton probably save no cash surplus from their season's labor because they spend all their extra money for liquor. They work long enough to get drunk, then lay off until they are both broke and sober again. This type of individual gives the whole Papago labor force a very evil reputation. But neither disapproval or employers nor social disapprobation within the Papago tribe seem to be strong enough to curb drinking.

000 Probably repeal of federal law prohibiting liquor to Indians would remove some of the attraction liquor holds for the Papagos. It would surely cut down on [273] the number of staggering drunks—the usual state of Papago drunks—in allowing the Desert People to sit down in a bar like other civilized human beings and drink slowly and socially instead of paying an inflated bootlegger's price for inferior liquor to be gulped down immediately in a dark alley before a policeman confiscates it. Some policemen make a semi-racket of letting known bootleggers operate, and waiting until Papagos are thoroughly drunk before arresting them—a practice resulting in considerable police department revenue, and some extra cash for the officers, if some observant growers are to be believed. But the Desert 273 182 People do not drink merely because they aren't supposed to. The basic reasons lie deeper in their psychology, and are undoubtedly tied into emotional insecurities 154 bred from economic uncertainty and the stresses arising from getting along with only half-understood Anglos.